

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00  
NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAC-00 INRE-00 HA-05  
OMB-01 TRSE-00 ACDA-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-10 L-03  
PA-02 SP-02 SS-15 SY-05 MCT-01 OC-06 CCO-00 A-01  
OPR-02 EB-08 /117 W

-----125181 131749Z /46

O R 131503Z APR 78

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7099

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY GABORONE

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 CAPE TOWN 742

DAR ES SALAAM ALSO FOR USDEL SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PDEV, WA

SUBJ: NAMIBIA: STATEMENT BY NNF

1. SUMMARY: OFFICIAL STATEMENT BY THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL  
FRONT STATES THAT WHILE WESTERN PROPOSALS ARE FAR FROM  
IDEAL, AS A COMPROMISE THEY ARE THE BEST THAT CAN BE  
EXPECTED AND THE NNF ACCEPTS THEM "IN PRINCIPLE AND  
IN GENERAL": SUBJECT TO ASSUMPTIONS AND RESERVATIONS IN  
THE STATEMENT. THE STATEMENT LISTS FOUR RESERVATIONS REGARDING  
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THE PROPOSALS, WHICH THE NNF SAYS HAVE NOW BEEN  
RESOLVED TO THEIR SATISFACTION AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE  
CAPE TOWN FIVE AMBASSADORS AND WITH AMBASSADOR MCHENRY.  
THE NNF, HOWEVER, STILL DOES NOT AGREE WITH THE PROVISION  
THAT ALL SAG FORCES BE WITHDRAWN WITHIN ONE WEEK AFTER  
CERTIFICATION OF THE ELECTIONS RESULTS FOR THE  
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE STATEMENT ALSO REASSERTS NNF

CONCERNS ABOUT THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE "INDIVIDUAL PROPOSED FOR APPOINTMENT AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE", BUT NOTES THE ASSURANCES GIVEN TO IT IN THIS REGARD BY AMBASSADOR MCHENRY. THE NNF ALSO URGES ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ADVISORY COUNCIL OF ALL PARTIES TO ADVISE THE A-G AND THE UNSR. END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING IS THE FULL STATEMENT OF THE NNF ON THE WESTERN PROPOSALS SENT BY TELEX TO THE EMBASSY:

QUOTE: 1. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT, AT A MEETING HELD ON THE 8TH APRIL 1978, DISCUSSED AT LENGTH THE LATEST PROPOSALS OF THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS AS CONVEYED BY THEIR AMBASSADORS TO THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT ON THE 31ST MARCH 1978.

2. CERTAIN RESERVATIONS AS TO THESE PROPOSALS WHICH WERE INITIALLY HELD BY THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT WERE RESOLVED AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH THE AMBASSADORS AND IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH AMBASSADOR MCHENRY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. THESE RELATED MAINLY TO CERTAIN VARIATIONS TO THE PROPOSALS INITIALLY SUBMITTED PRIOR TO THE NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS DURING FEBRUARY 1978 AND ARE AS FOLLOWS:

2.1 WHILST THE PREVIOUS PROPOSALS PROVIDED THAT SOUTH AFRICA AND SWAPO ARMED FORCES BE RESTRICTED TO ESTABLISHED BASES, THE NEW PROPOSALS REFER TO BASES GENERALLY. IT WAS EXPLAINED THAT NO SWAPO BASES WOULD BE PERMITTED TO BE ESTABLISHED WITHIN SOUTH WEST AFRICA/NAMIBIA, AND THAT ALL BASES TO WHICH SWAPO ARMED FORCES UNCLASSIFIED

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WOULD BE RESTRICTED WOULD BE LOCATED OUTSIDE THE TERRITORY.

2.2 THE EARLIER PROPOSALS PROVIDED FOR BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICAN BASES TO BE MONITORED BY UNITED NATIONS PERSONNEL, BUT NO PROVISION TO THIS EFFECT IS CONTAINED IN THE LATEST PROPOSALS. THIS OMISSION HAS BEEN EXPLAINED BY THE WESTERN POWERS AS NOT HAVING ANY PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE, AS THE PROPOSALS PROVIDE ELSEWHERE FOR THE MILITARY SECTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE GROUP TO ENSURE THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ANY AGREED SOLUTION WILL BE OBSERVED BY ALL PARTIES. THIS IS ALSO MADE CLEAR IN THE ANNEX TO THE PROPOSALS.

2.3 WHILST THE NEW PROPOSALS STILL PROVIDE THAT THE PRIMARY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MAINTAINING LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD WILL REST WITH EXISTING POLICE FORCE, A NEW PROVISION HAS BEEN INSERTED IN THE PROPOSALS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE POLICE FORCE WILL BE LIMITED TO THE CARRYING OF SMALL ARMS IN THE NORMAL PERFORMANCE OF THEIR DUTIES. IT HAS BEEN EXPLAINED THAT THE EMPHASIS IS ON NORMAL PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES, AND THAT THE INTENTION IS TO PREVENT THE CARRYING OF MACHINE GUNS, ETC. BY THE POLICE IN THE EXERCISE OF THEIR NORMAL FUNCTIONS. THE USE OF ARMS OTHER THAN SMALL ARMS IN ABNORMAL CIRCUMSTANCES IS NOT PROHIBITED. THE PROVISION THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS FORCES IS INTENDED MERELY FOR

OBSERVATIONS PURPOSES AND NOT AS ANY MEASURE OF INTERFERENCE  
AND AS SUCH APPEARS TO BE REASONABLE.

2.4(A) THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT IS SYMPATHETIC TO THE SOUTH  
AFRICAN PROPOSAL THAT IN ADDITION TO ITS MILITARY PRESENCE BEING  
RESTRICTED TO OSHIVELLO AND/OR GROOTFONTEIN, IT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE  
SMALL NUMBERS OF TROOPS TO BE MAINTAINED AT SOME EIGHT STRATEGIC  
POINTS IN THE NORTH OF THE TERRITORY TO PROTECT INSTALLATIONS SUCH  
AS POWER STATIONS, HOSPITALS, RADIO STATIONS, ETC. THE  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE WESTERN POWERS HAVE STATED THAT THEY HAVE  
NO OBJECTION TO THESE LATTER FUNCTIONS BEING CARRIED OUT BY  
THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE, AND AS THIS WOULD NOT BE REGARDED AS A  
NORMAL FUNCTION OF THE POLICE THE LIMITATION TO THE CARRYING OF  
SMALL ARMS WOULD NOT APPLY. SUCH PROTECTIVE POLICE UNITS, HOWEVER,  
WOULD BE SUBJECT TO UNITED NATIONS MONITORING, AND IN ANY EVENT,  
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THE UNITED NATIONS PEACE KEEPING FORCE ITSELF WOULD ASSUME  
RESPONSIBILITIES NOT ONLY FOR PROTECTING SUCH INSTALLATIONS, BUT  
WOULD ALSO UNDERTAKE TO MAINTAIN SECURITY, SURVEILLANCE AND  
PREVENTION OF INFILTRATION FROM ACROSS THE BORDER. THE NAMIBIA  
NATIONAL FRONT ACCEPTS THIS AS A REASONABLE COMPROMISE.

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2.4(B) THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT IS AND HAS IN ALL PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS ALSO BEEN SYMPATHETIC TO SOUTH AFRICA'S INSISTENCE ON THE STRENGTH OF ITS RESIDUAL MILITARY FORCE BEING BETWEEN 2600 AND 3000, OF WHICH APPROXIMATELY ONE HALF WOULD CONSIST OF COMBAT TROOPS, WHILST THE REMAINDER WOULD PROVIDE LOGISTIC SUPPORT. THE SUGGESTION THAT THE LATTER DUTIES COULD BE UNDERTAKEN BY CIVILIANS DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE UNREASONABLE.

3. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT DOES NOT AGREE WITH THE PROPOSAL OF THE WESTERN POWERS THAT THE REMAINING SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY PRESENCE WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BE WITHDRAWN FROM THE TERRITORY WITHIN ONE WEEK AFTER CERTIFICATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE ELECTION FOR THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE ATTITUDE OF THE NAMIBIA  
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NATIONAL FRONT IS THAT IF IT IS CONCEDED THAT SUCH MILITARY PRESENCE IS NECESSARY DURING THE INITIAL STAGES OF TRANSITION, THEN SUCH PRESENCE WOULD BE NECESSARY AT LEAST UNTIL FINAL INDEPENDENCE, AND THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS AS WELL AS UNITED NATIONS TROOPS AND PERSONNEL SHOULD ONLY BE WITHDRAWN IF AND WHEN SO REQUIRED BY THE REPRESENTATIVES, WHO WOULD, FOR THE FIRST TIME, HAVE BEEN DETERMINED BY FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS. SHOULD THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE REQUIRE SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY ASSISTANCE AFTER INDEPENDENCE AND PENDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NAMIBIA'S OWN ARMED FORCES, IT SHOULD BE THEIR PREROGATIVE TO REQUEST THE SAME. THIS ATTITUDE WAS STATED PRIOR TO AND ALSO AT THE NEW YORK DISCUSSIONS, AND IS REITERATED.

4. FURTHERMORE: THE NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT HAS SOME DOUBT

AS TO THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL PROPOSED FOR APPOINTMENT AS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ALTHOUGH IT IS UNDERSTOOD THAT THE MAIN NEGOTIATING PARTIES HAVE IN FACT, AGREED TO THE PERSON PROPOSED. THESE RESERVATIONS WERE EXPLAINED TO AMBASSADOR MCHENRY DURING THE COURSE OF DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK DURING FEBRUARY, AND AGAIN AT A MEETING HELD IN WINDHOEK ON THE 5TH APRIL 1978 AND THE ASSURANCE WAS OBTAINED FROM THE AMBASSADOR THAT THESE VIEWS HAD BEEN CONVEYED BY HIM TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL, AND THAT THE MANDATE TO BE GIVEN BY THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO HIS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD EMPHASISE THAT WHATEVER HIS CONNECTIONS WITH THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND/OR SWAPO MAY HAVE BEEN IN THE PAST, IN THE EXERCISE OF HIS DUTIES IN HIS NEW CAPACITY HE WOULD HAVE A CLEAR MANDATE WHICH

WOULD BE CLEARLY DISTINGUISHABLE FROM HIS FUNCTION AS COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA AND THAT THE UTMOST OBJECTIVITY AND IMPARTIALITY WILL BE REQUIRED OF HIM: AND, OF COURSE, HE WOULD BE DIRECTLY ACCOUNTABLE TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL HIMSELF AND THENCE TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL. WE HAVE ALSO BEEN ASSURED BY AMBASSADOR UNCLASSIFIED

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MCHENRY THAT A RECENT REPORT CIRCULATED LOCALLY BY THE S.A.B.C. AND OTHERS TO THE EFFECT THAT THE UNITED NATIONS COMMISSIONER FOR NAMIBIA HAD PROPOSED A REJECTION OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT, IS A GROSS DISTORTION.

5. WE NOTE THAT THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY WAS OMITTED FROM THE REVISED PROPOSALS. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT REGARDS WALVIS BAY AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA, BUT APPRECIATES THE DIFFICULTY IN SETTLING THAT ISSUE AT THIS STAGE, AND RELUCTANTLY AGREES THAT THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY REMAIN IN ABEYANCE UNTIL AN ELECTED NAMIBIAN GOVERNMENT CAN NEGOTIATE WITH SOUTH AFRICA IN THIS REGARD.

6. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FROND STRONGLY URGES THAT AN ADVISORY COUNCIL CONSISTING OF NOMINEES OF ALL MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES AND/OR ALLIANCES ACTIVE IN THE TERRITORY BE ESTABLISHED TO ADVISE THE ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD UP TO INDEPENDENCE.

7. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT REITERATES ITS PREVIOUS ATTITUDE THAT: SUBJECT TO THE AFORESAID ASSUMPTIONS AND RESERVATIONS, AND WEIGHED AGAINST THE ALTERNATIVES, THE PROPOSALS AS A WHOLE ARE FAIR AND REASONABLE, CONSIDERING THAT THE AIM IS TO ENSURE THE IMMEDIATE CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES AND TO ACHIEVE AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION THROUGH COUNTRY WIDE AND FAIR ELECTIONS FOR A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. THE PROPOSALS ARE CONSIDERED AS BEING FAR FROM IDEAL, BUT AS A COMPROMISE, TO BE THE BEST THAT CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE GENERALLY ACCEPTED TO BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA AND IN THE LONG TERM OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

8. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT REMAIN ADAMANT IN ITS STAND THAT ANY SO CALLED INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WOULD NOT ONLY FAIL TO RECIEVE INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION, BUT WOULD IN ALL PROBABILITY BE SUBJECT TO INTERNATIONAL CONDEMNATIN WTH THE PROBABLE UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSEQUENCES, INCLUDING SANCTIONS, RESULTING THEREFROM, AND IS TO

BE AVOIDED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE. SHOULD, HOWEVER, INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT BECOME IMPOSSIBLE BECAUSE OF AN UNREASONABLE ATTITUDE BY THE MAIN NEGOTIATING PARTIES, THEN THE ALTERNATIVE WILL BE CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS.

WE, HOWEVER, HOWEVER, WISH TO PLACE ON RECORD THAT WE SHALL NOT, UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, PARTICIPATE IN ANY ELECTORAL PROCESS OR ELECTIONS WHICH WE DO NOT REGARD AS FREE AND FAIR.

9. THE NAMIBIA NATIONAL FRONT RECORDS ITS APPRECIATION OF THE EFFORTS OF THE WESTERN POWERS TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE AND INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION; AND ACCEPTS THE PROPOSALS IN PRINCIPLE AND IN GENERAL, SUBJECT TO THE AFORESAID ASSUMPTIONS AND RESERVATIONS. WE THEREFORE APPEAL TO BOTH SWAPO AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT NOT TO REJECT THE SAME OUT OF HAND, BUT TO ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS SUBMITTED BY THE FIVE WESTERN POWERS, AT LEAST IN PRINCIPLE, AND TO NEGOTIATE URGENTLY AND SERIOUSLY TO SETTLE ANY REMAINING DIFFERENCES OF OPINION, IN ORDER TO BRING TO AN END THE UNCERTAINTY, UNREST, LOSS OF LIFE, WHICH PRESENTLY OBTAIN, AND WHICH, UNDOUBTEDLY, WILL BE INTENSIFIED IN THE ABSENCE OF AN INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION.

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## Message Attributes

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**TAGS:** PDEV, WA, NNF, NAMIBIAN NATIONAL FRONT  
**To:** STATE USUN NEW YORK  
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